

Message Text

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ANALYSIS NOTE SERVICE MESSAGE HAS BEEN SENT TO
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INFO AMEMBASSY SAIGON

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 266161

INFORM CONSULS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y: LINE OMITTED PARA 6

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, VS

SUBJECT: COUNTERING PRG EFFORTS TO SEEK BILATERAL
RECOGNITION

REFS: A. STATE 171606; B. SAIGON 14370 (NOTAL)

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1. SUMMARY

RECENT INTELLIGENCE REPORTING INDICATES THAT THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIET-NAM/PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH VIET-NAM IS GIVING GREATER EMPHASIS TO EXPANDING PRG BILATERAL CONTACTS OUTSIDE THE COMMUNIST BLOC. THESE EFFORTS ARE DIRECTED BOTH AT ESTABLISHING NEW CONTACTS AND AT UPGRADING EXISTING PRG REPRESENTATION IN WORLD CAPITALS. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THE DRV/PRG IS PREPARED TO SOFTEN ITS DEMANDS ON RECOGNITION TO FACILITATE THIS. THE U.S. CONTINUES TO OPPOSE STRONGLY ANY EXPANSION OF PRG DIPLOMATIC INFLUENCE OR REPRESENTATION EITHER BILATERALLY OR IN MULTILATERAL FORUMS. POSTS ARE REQUESTED TO USE THIS INSTRUCTION AS APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS AS WELL AS WITH OFFICIALS OF UN AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES. IN DOING SO, POSTS SHOULD COORDINATE WHERE PERTINENT WITH GVN MISSIONS. POSTS SHOULD ALSO BE ALERT TO AND INFORM THE DEPARTMENT AND

EMBASSY SAIGON OF ANY EFFORTS TO ADVANCE THE INTERESTS OF THE PRG. GUIDANCE ON THE PRG ISSUE IS PROVIDED HEREIN. END SUMMARY.

2. REF A DISCUSSED PROBABLE TARGETS FOR THE DRV/PRG DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE, AIMED AT GAINING PRG ADMISSION TO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND INCREASING BILATERAL RECOGNITION OF THE PRG. EVENTS OF THE PAST FOUR MONTHS HAVE BORNE OUT THE PREDICTIONS IN THAT MESSAGE. THE DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THE DRV/PRG WILL CONTINUE SEEKING THE SAME OBJECTIVES IN 1975.

3. RECENT INTELLIGENCE REPORTING INDICATES THAT THE DRV/PRG IS NOW GIVING INCREASED EMPHASIS TO EXPANDING PRG BILATERAL CONTACTS OUTSIDE THE COMMUNIST BLOC. THEIR EFFORTS ARE DIRECTED BOTH AT ESTABLISHING NEW CONTACTS AND AT UPGRADING EXISTING PRG REPRESENTATION IN WORLD CAPITALS. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THE COMMUNISTS ARE PREPARED TO SOFTEN THEIR DEMANDS ON RECOGNITION TO FACILITATE THIS. IN THE PAST THEY HAVE BEEN FAIRLY INFLEXIBLE IN DEMANDING THAT OTHER GOVERN-
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MENTS ACCORD THE PRG FULL RECOGNITION. THEY NOW APPEAR MORE WILLING TO ACCEPT HALF MEASURES -- I.E. A PARTIAL UPGRADING IN PRG REPRESENTATION -- IF THEIR FULL DEMANDS ARE CLEARLY UNATTAINABLE. THEY ALSO APPEAR READY TO TREAT EACH AGREEMENT SEPARATELY, ACCEPTING THE MINIMUM ARRANGEMENTS OTHER GOVERNMENTS ARE WILLING TO MAKE.

4. INDICATIVE OF THIS SOFTENED APPROACH IS THAT HANOI IS NOW LESS ADAMANT THAT OTHER COUNTRIES ACCORD A DEGREE OF RECOGNITION TO THE PRG BEFORE RELATIONS ARE ESTABLISHED WITH THE DRV. JAPAN, AFTER RESISTING NORTH VIETNAMESE DEMANDS ON PRG RECOGNITION DURING SEVERAL MONTHS OF NEGOTIATIONS ON OPENING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, HAS NOT HAD TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT THE PRG. THE PRG ISSUE REPORTEDLY DID NOT ARISE IN CONNECTION WITH THE AUSTRALIAN-DRV AGREEMENT ON A NEW AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR TO HANOI. THE FRG, WHICH HAS JUST BEGUN TALKS WITH THE DRV ON OPENING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, UNDERSTANDS THAT THE SUBJECT OF RECOGNITION OF THE PRG WILL NOT BE DISCUSSED.

5. PROBABLE TARGETS:

A. THE DRV/PRG IS APPLYING THIS FLEXIBLE APPROACH MOST WIDELY IN WESTERN EUROPE, SINCE EVEN PARTIAL RECOGNITION BY A EUROPEAN POWER HAS GREAT PRESTIGE VALUE. THE COMMUNISTS REGARD THE RECENT ELEVATION OF THE PRG MISSIONS IN PARIS AND STOCKHOLM AS SIGNIFICANT, SINCE THEY CAN USE THEM AS PRECEDENTS IN PROPOSING SIMILAR AGREEMENTS ELSEWHERE. (THE FRENCH AND SWEDISH GOVERNMENTS HAVE CAREFULLY POINTED OUT THAT THESE ARRANGEMENTS DO NOT CONSTITUTE RECOGNITION OF THE PRG--SEE STATE 113828 OF MAY 30, 1974--BUT THIS DISTINCTION CAN BE EASILY LOST WHEN THE PRG APPROACHES OTHER GOVERNMENTS.)

THE CURRENT COMMUNIST STRATEGY IN EUROPE APPEARS TO BE TO OPEN A PRG INFORMATION OFFICE, RAISE IT TO A "PERMANENT MISSION" AND THEN WORK ON INCREASING ITS PRIVILEGES AND FUNCTIONS WITH A VIEW TO EDGING INTO CONFIDENTIAL

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FULL RECOGNITION. TO DATE THE PRG HAS ESTABLISHED A "PERMANENT MISSION" IN FRANCE AND A "GENERAL DELEGATION, IN SWEDEN. WE KNOW OF RECENT OR CURRENT PRG EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH UN LIAISON MISSION IN GENEVA, TO UPGRADE INFORMATION OFFICES IN NORWAY AND FINLAND, AND TO ESTABLISH INFORMATION OFFICES IN THE NETHERLANDS, BELGIUM AND SWITZERLAND.

B. LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES REMAIN LOWER PRIORITY TARGETS AT THE MOMENT, BUT THE PRG IS LOOKING FOR OPENING THERE. THEY MAY HAVE BEGUN SOUNDING OUT ARGENTINA, AND THEY MAY BE ABLE TO COUNT ON INCREASING ACCEPTANCE FROM SUCH "THIRD WORLD" SYMPATHIZERS AS PERU AND PANAMA. AN APPROACH TO MEXICO IS ALSO POSSIBLE.

C. IN AFRICAN AND ARAB COUNTRIES THE PRG PROBABLY WILL CONTINUE FAIRLY REGULAR PROBING BOTH DIRECTLY AND THROUGH THIRD PARTIES LIKE ALGERIA.

6. ACTION REQUESTED: THE U.S. CONTINUES TO OPPOSE STRONGLY ANY REPEAT ANY ENHANCEMENT OF PRG DIPLOMATIC STATUS, WHETHER IN INTERNATIONAL FORUMS OR IN BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. POSTS SHOULD BE ALERT TO AND INFORM THE DEPARTMENT AND EMBASSY SAIGON OF ANY EFFORTS TO FORWARD THE INTERESTS OF THE PRG. (SUCH EFFORTS INCLUDE CONTACTS BETWEEN PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS AND PRG REPRESENTATIVES.) IN THE EVENT THE PRG MAKES CONTACTS OR HOST GOVERNMENTS APPEAR TO BE CONSIDERING A MORE FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PRG, POSTS SHOULD SECURE EARLY CONFIRMATION THAT HOST GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES WILL NOT CHANGE IN FAVOR OF THE PRG. IF IT WOULD BE USEFUL, POSTS MIGHT SUGGEST HOST GOVERNMENT MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT TO THAT EFFECT. EMBASSY SAIGON IS PREPARED TO FACILITATE PARALLEL ACTION BY GVN REPRESENTATIVES.

7. OUR BASIC ARGUMENTATION ON THE PRG ISSUE REMAINS UNCHANGED. THE PRG IS WHOLLY DEPENDENT FOR ITS EXISTENCE ON THE NORTH VIETNAMESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND GOVERNMENT APPARATUS. IT IS NOT A GOVERNMENT. IT POSSESSES NONE OF THE ATTRIBUTES OF A GOVERNMENT: IT CONFIDENTIAL

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DOES NOT HAVE A CAPITAL, IT HAS NO BODY OF JURISPRUDENCE, AND IT HAS NO ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE BEYOND WHAT EXISTS ON PAPER. IT CONTROLS A NEGLIGIBLE FRACTION OF SOUTH VIETNAMESE POPULATION. THE PARIS AGREEMENT DID NOT REPEAT NOT RECOGNIZE IT AS A GOVERNMENT OR A SEPARATE ADMINISTRATION. ON THE CONTRARY, THE AGREEMENT SPEAKS OF THE PRG ONLY AS A "PARTY" WHOSE CLAIMS ARE TO BE SETTLED IN NEGOTIATION WITH GVN. UNTIL A SETTLEMENT IS REACHED UNDER THE TERMS OF AGREEMENT GVN--WHICH CONTROLS MOST OF TERRITORY AND VIRTUALLY ALL OF POPULATION OF SOUTH VIET-NAM AND HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED BY SOME 90 COUNTRIES--REMAINS INTACT.

8. POSTS MAY NOTE TO HOST GOVERNMENTS THAT THE PRG IS NOT INTERESTED IN SERIOUS BILATERAL RELATIONS WHICH CHARACTERIZE RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. ITS DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE IS INTENDED TO BUILD THE PRG INTO INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE AND THEREBY TO RATIFY ITS CLAIM TO BE A SECOND GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH VIET-NAM. THIS EFFORT IS CLEARLY COUNTER TO THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT, WHICH LEAVES THE QUESTION OF SOUTH VIET-NAM'S POLITICAL FUTURE TO NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO

SOUTH VIETNAMESE SIDES. ANY ENHANCEMENT OF THE PRG'S STATUS AT THIS TIME PREJUDICES THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S EFFORTS TO WORK OUT A SETTLEMENT BY THEMSELVES.

9. POSTS MAY DRAW FURTHER ON THE FOLLOWING MESSAGES PREVIOUSLY PROVIDED: (A) STATE 51556, MARCH 20, 1973; (B) STATE 64694, APRIL 6, 1973; (C) STATE A-4318 ("STATUS OF THE PRG") MAY 17, 1973; (D) STATE A-1238 ("COUNTERING HANOI'S DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE GVN") FEBRUARY 13, 1974; (E) SAIGON A-186 ("THE PRG: AN INSTRUMENT OF DRV POLICY") AUGUST 29, 1974; (F) SAIGON A-187 ("DISTRIBUTION OF BASIC GOVERNMENT DOCUMENT ON THE STATUS OF THE PRG") AUGUST 30, 1974; AND (G) SAIGON A-235 ("DISTRIBUTION OF SPANISH VERSION OF BASIC GVN DOCUMENT ON STATUS OF THE PRG") NOVEMBER 12, 1974. A FRENCH VERSION OF THIS GVN DOCUMENT WILL BE DISTRIBUTED WHEN AVAILABLE. KISSINGER

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